REASONS

Against REPEALING the

Occasional, and Test Acts,

And ADMITTING the

DISSENTERS

To PLACES of

Trust and Power.

OCCASION'D

By Reading the oth Chap. of a Pamphlet called, The State-Anatomy of GREAT BRITAIN.

To which is added,

An ANSWER to the most material Arguments brought by the Different and their Friends for their Admission into Offices.

The Second Entrion.

LONDON:

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Occasional, and

Line and an additioned Lawsell and L.



DEAR SERVINGE THE AND LAND CO. E pleased to accept of my hearty Thanks for the Pamphlets you were to kind to fend me ; I cannot return your Favour in the same manner, without writing one on purpole for you, which

you will find, by the length of what follows, I have done: Meanly, I confess, without much Time or Thought employ'd upon the Subject; yet such as it is, I know your Goodness will excuse it. I desire you would look upon the whole, as what would drop from me in Conversation, had I an Opportunity to kifs your Hands at - which my prefent Indisposition will not permit. that the beat property that Thereteraline

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of Great Britain. I cannot understand how the Tories will be able to reply to his Charge against them, which is no less true than severe. Yet the Vehemence and Rapidity of his Stile discover a Man of a very warm Temper, and this State-Chirurgeon, in some Particulars at least, gives himself the Air of a mere Quack. I have no more Faith in his irrefragable Demonstration, than in the Catholicon or universal Medicine of some of his Brother Dostors. I cannot by any means close with him in his Project of repealing the Occasional and Test Asts. If you remember, I long since hinted to you, that this was upon the Anvil, and as it is now probable it will be attempted by some Favourers of the dissenting Party, give me leave to shoot my Bolt against them.

You know I have hitherto been in no great Pain for the Church: Imaginary Dangers give me no Disturbance, nor am I easily moved with popular Noise and Clamour. But when such Projects as these are on Foot, out of the regard I have to Decency, Order, and good Sense; I cannot forbear looking with some little Jealousy upon the Dissenters, who seem in so peculiar a manner to be the happy Minions of this Author.

This Declar irrefragabilis begins his Demonstration, or Prescription (call it which you please) in a very magisterial Tone, Page 30. Let the National Church, Oc. But I am not convinced that this Gentleman's Fiat will secure the National Church from the Invasions of the Dissenting Preach-

ers will divest themselves of their usual Ambition: That they will not cast a longing Eyelaster that Ecclefialtical Preheminence he mentions, which (as it is most apparent) where ever they have been established, they are as fond of as any Priests whatfoever, carry it to as high a Pitch, and execute their Decrees with as much Rigour. If I am rightly informed, Ecclefiaftical Tyranny is as compleat in our neighbouring Kirk of Scotland, as in those flavish Regions on the other side of the Alps. He must demonstrate also, that these self-denying Preachers will not be glad of a seasonable Opportunity to creep into the Dignities (tho' perhaps under some other Denominations) as well as the Immunities and Possessions of the National Clergy. As human Nature is still the same, and as it is notorious that our neighbouring Kirkmen have effected this already: As it is well known that these meek and humble Preachers had ingross'd all Power and Profit Ecclefiastical into their own Hands, even in our own Country, during the late unhappy Troubles; how can we rely upon his whimfical Security of an irrevocable Law to make them all Helots or Slaves if they attempt it? Or what Law can be irrevocable, when the Diffenters, by those very means he propoles, will have a Power to revoke it? For by being equally admitted into all Places of Trust and Profit, and in almost all respecis upon a Par with the National Church, they will have an Opportunity to promote their Interest, augment their Numbers, perfuade the Fools, and buy off the Knaves of our Communion, till at last they grow too big for Punishment. How easy then will it be for this Author to make so formidable a Body Helots or Slaves ? I am well affured it will be much more easy for the Dissenters to break through all

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all his cobweb Laws, and overturn all his important Schemes.

I cannot but think it will be allowed me, that it is as necessary to secure the Establish'd Church against the Encroachments of the Dissenters, as to secure the Dissenters against the Persecutions of the Establish'd Church: If this is granted, I cannot help inferring that the Occasional and Test Acts ought to be as sacred and inviolable as the Act of Toleration; because every good Churchman (and of such I know this Parliament is composed) ought to be as solicitous at least for the Security of his own Religion, as for that of his Dissenting Neighbours.

It is reasonable, and I very heartily agree with this Author, that Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations, should worship God according to their Consciences, with all imaginable Freedom: And as this is all they can with Modesty ask, so we good Churchmen should be too complaisant (you see I give it the mildest Epithet) should we for their sakes, who are already as easy as they ought to wish, give into any Projects that might possibly weaken the Security of the Establish'd Church.

I shall take the Liberty to affirm, that the excluding Differers from Places of Trust in the Government, has been the standing Opinion of the Willings, as well as the Tories. In a Conference between the two Houses about the Occasional Bill, the Lord Hallifax (no inconsiderable Manager for the Peers) speaks thus:

vane Boarles they alone are the Support of the pre-

ione Establishment. The Pembers of the Church of England are all cities declared ALTHARD.

"The main Defign of this Bill is to fecure the Church of England. In this the Lords do perfettly agree " with you. Both fides of the House you in it with equal Zeal And the main Point being the excluding of all Perfore from Employments of Truft, who jege themselves to anymother Bodies for religious Worship, The Lords do agree with you intirely likewise in " this. And again, the Lords dook upon the fixing Qua-" lifications for Places of Trust to be a Thing formere " ly lodg'd with the Ligiflature, that without glining a " (how remote foever) every Got when in put " fuch Rules, Referaints and Conditions on AM who " ferme in any Place of Truck, as they shall see Cause for." In that very House of Commons which prosecuted Dr. Sacheverel, one Humpbreys, al Nanconformilli Minifler, address d to them a Paper containing Reasons for abolishing the Teft AH, and admitting the Diffenters into a Shate of the Government Butleven this very House of Commons expressed their Refentments against this infolent Proposal and lordered his Paper to be burnt by the Hands of the Com if their College friends, which are anangash nom will not adopte titled face . Share of the pencheial

These Instances, I conceive, are sufficient to prove, that not many Years past, it was the unanimous Opinion of the whole Representative of the Nation, of all the Members of the Church, both Whigs and Tories, that the Different bught to be excluded from Placesi I must own I cannot discover how they have fince merited a greater Share in our Favour, or what should induce us to alter our Sentiments. I If indeed you will elieve their own extra-

vant Boasts, they alone are the Support of the present Establishment. The Members of the Church
of England are all either declared Enemies, or insignificant Cyphers. I shall not pretend to weigh
Mens Merits in a Balance, but am very well sage
fied the Disseners would in all regards appear light
enough. We of the Church, I hope, understand our
selves too well to trumpet our own Praises. And
I shall beg leave to tell these very meritorious Saints,
these Confessors and Martyrs for the Government,
that their Sufferings have been abundantly recompensed, and that the most loyal, most deserving of
them all, have only done their Duty.

But their Boats are not more ridiculous than their Menaces are infolent. In many of the little Papers they have published upon this Occasion, they threaten their Willing Friends in the House with the severest Marks of their Displeasure. They accuse them with count of Honour, with breach of their Promises, and linsing tell them very plainly that is they will not repeal those Laws which are a Bar to their Presentents, they will defert such an grateful Persons, and joys with the Torice at the integrateful Persons, and joys with the Torice at the if their Williams; which, being interpreted, its, what if their Williams; which, being interpreted, its, what if their Williams; which, being interpreted, its, what if their Williams; which are now in Power, will not admit them into a Share of the beneficial Places, they, so the mand the Government.

Opinion of the whole Representative of the Natior (elivery smo) reducted liwinovinis award.

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Favour, or what should induce us to alrer our Seariunits I de indeed you will diere their own extraI want Faith to believe that any Minister of State will make an Attempt so ridiculous as to copy after King James, by repealing the Test-Att, which must make them odious to the People. For they will find that the boasted Numbers and Power of the Dissenters will be very little able to support them. It must shrink into a mere Shadow, when opposed to the Bulk of the Nation.

The Diffenters themselves must in the end be effectually ruined by it. For fince they will grafp at more than is their Due, the opposite Party. who will undoubtedly have their Turn to be a Majority, will very naturally withdraw the Concessions they have already made, as from Men that know no Moderation, and cannot be content to be happy, without being great. And how can they who have invaded the Test-Att complain. if they should hereafter lose the Toleration, of which by their ambitious Designs they have render'd themselves unworthy? I cannot but be convinc'd that this must be the Consequence of their giving new Jealousies to the Establish'd Church : And that every Attempt of this kind is not only in the highest degree ungrateful, but intirely subversive of their own Interest. I am consident every unprejudiced Man amongst them, who has no selfinterested Views, must agree with me, that no thing can become them so well as to sit still, and enjoy with thankful Hearts that ample Toleration which the good Nature of their Fellow-Subjects has given them.

By the A& of Settlement it is provided, that whoever hereafter shall come to this Crown, shall join

join in Communion with the Church of England, as by Law sestablished. With what Modesty then can the Diffenters ask to be free from a Reftraint to which the King himself is subject? Shall they be releas'd from these legal Fetters, (as they term them) and the King himself, for whom they express so great a Zeal, remain bound? May we not with greater Reason conclude, when these Laws are repealed in favour of the Diffenters, that it will be but common Decency to repeal that Clause in the Act of Settlement? And will the Church be safe, should we hereafter have a King who will not join in her Communion? The Legiflature were not of that Opinion when the Act of Settlement was pass'd, nor I hope ever will. The many weighty Reasons for laying this Restraint upon the King, who is the Fountain of all Offices and Honours, will certainly hold good, if applied to those Persons who derive the Offices and Honours from him: At least will differ as to magis and minus only. In both Cases the Wisdom of the Nation thought these Precautions necessary for the Security of the Church, which has run no less' Hazards in times past from Dissenting Brethren, than from Popish Princes. It is true, there is a wide Difference as to the State, between Diffenters and Papists: These are declared Enemies, the other realous friends. But are they not both Enemies to the Established Church? Turn over (Sir) our Histories, and find me one Instance, if you can, where the Dissenters let flip any one Opportunity to use the Church despightfully, when they had it in their Power. On the contrary, so irreconcileable their Hatred, that you will evidently discover The had once folemnly fworn to extirpate and destroy her. Their ill Deligns and our Fears are of Join

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equal Date, which the aspiring Temper that now appears amongst them, will by no means allay. It is in vain therefore they plead that they have equal Abilities to serve the Government with the Members of the Church, for so also have the Papists. However, it would better become these meek Saints to let other Men praise them, and not their own Lips. The World indeed is every Day convinc'd of their vast Capacity to govern; but this happens unluckily to be a little beside the Question; for we do not except against them for want of Capacity, but on the contrary conclude, the greater their Abilities, the more they are to be feared.

The most malicious of our Enemies cannot find out a more effectual Way to make the Government unpopular, than the repealing these Laws, which are the Bulwark of the Establish'd Church: The very Sound of whose Name can raise a Zeal in the Multitude little less than Distraction. You, Sir, who convers'd among the People during the late Rebellion, that you might do the Government all the good Offices you were able, can tell the mighty Influence of the word Church. It is plain that Calumny of the Danger of the Church, had taken deep Root: It was by this alone that the Enemies of the Government gain'd upon the People, and raised that Ferment against the Dissenters, the fore-runner of the late Rebellion. You, Sir, and many other honest Gentlemen, labour'd with the utmost Application to wipe off that Dirt cast in so plentiful manner upon the King and his Friends. Upon thefe Occasions you have given repeated Assurances that the Church was fafe; you have demonstrated that it was inconfistent with the Honour of the Govern-

ment, and with all good Policy, to take any Step to the Prejudice of the Establish'd Church. You have ridiculed those Fears, as vain Chimaras, or shallow Artifices of Friends to the Pretender: The Justness of your Reasonings has prevailed, the People have been asham'd of their easy Credulity, have awak'd from those idle Dreams, and concluded with you, that nothing could effectually fupport the Church, but their firm Adherence to a wife, Protestant King. But how unfortunate are the Friends of the present Establishment? See at once, Sir, all this hopeful Fabrick falling to the Ground. The Dissenters, if they repeal these Acts, will triumph in their Success; their foolish Hopes will be contained within no Bounds, they will infult without Mercy the Converts you have made; and you, with all your honest Zeal, and the clearest Reason on your side, will be esteemed little less than a very weak Man, or a very falle Deceiver. Thus, Sir, are you deliver'd up to Infamy and Reproach by those, who out of your Reputation pay the Debt they owe to their Diffenting Voters.

A Dissenter can by no means be said to be oppressed, because he is not admitted into Places of Trust and Power, since no Man has a natural Right to an Office; for that is owing solely to the Grace and Favour of the Prince. As the Members of the Establish'd Church seem to have the best Title to those Favours of their Prince, who is supreme Head of that Church; so it will be his Interest to employ Men of the same Principles in Religion, if he expects Secrecy, Dispatch, or any good Understanding in his Affairs. For however calm Mens Minds may be in other Countries, they are in too great a Ferment in England, and

we are too great Bigots on all fides, for a wife King to employ Men of different Persuasions. The Churchman (I am afraid) would look with Envy and Distrust upon the Promotion of a Dissenter. who, in his Opinion, can justly claim nothing more of his Prince than Indemnity and Protection, And would there not be some Ground for his Uneasines. fince the Differter, who is generally opinionative, infinuating, and ambitious, and if he is once made great, will aspire to be greater; and by the same Law that he is admitted into any Share of Power, is in a Possibility of the highest Promotions? And should the most sanguine of us al think the Church entirely out of Danger, were the Dissenters admitted into the Administration? In a Case that so nearly concerns us, let us provide even against Possibilities.

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I cannot think the Body of the Disenters are very uneasy at being excluded from Offices: It is the covetous and ambitious only that gape after Places; the pious Man will be content to serve God in his own way; Temporal Preferments are Trisles he will easily forego; an eager Desire to be great, and to make a Figure in the World, savours very little of Religion: And I cannot see of what great National Advantage it will be, to admit the very worst of the Disenters into Place and Power.

The Differers will, for their own fakes, do all they can to support the present Establishment; their Hands, their Purses, (and that is all we want) will not fail of being ready, upon every Occasion, against the Pretender and his Adherents, because they must know, that their being even but Neuters in this Quarrel, is to them immediate Ruin. Where their

their own Preservation is so nearly concerned, it is ridiculous to suspect their Zeal. Let us therefore make use of their Affistance to do us Good, but det us be careful we do not put it into their Power to do us Harm. We live now as Brethren, but the Time may come when they may dispute our Birth-right, and struggle with us for Superiority The Dissenters, like two very useful, but unruly Elements, are the best Servants, but the very worst Masters.

The Toleration is indeed the Glory of the Church of England, because in this she raises her self to the highest Pitch of Christianity; she blesses them, who would persecute her. But as she knows they want not the Will, she would act the part of a Lunatick, or an Idiot, should she tamely give them the Power.

I must confess I cannot see how the repealing these Acts will greatly advantage the Generality of Dissenters, whose Genius seems most inclined to Trade, and for which they are much better qualified, than for Places at Court. His Majesty, if he has not already, may foon have, with a little tolerable Conduct in his Ministry, many hearty Subjects of the Church of England to fill the more inferior Posts. There remains nothing now, but to reconcile the deluded Populace to the best King that ever reign'd; a Task one would imagine no way difficult to a wife, steady, and uncorrupt Administration. But on the contrary, the very Attempt to repeal these Acts will be attended with the worst Consequences to the present Establishment. How many were terrified into Torymeasures by that ridiculous Cry of the DAN-GER

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GER OF THE CHURCH? Many of whom were very well-meaning Men, and have fince had the Grace to acknowledge their Errors have perfectly recover'd from that ridiculous Fright, and are now as hearty Subjects as any in the King's Dominions. But all thefe, and many others who are just coming over, and want only an Excuse for their past Follies, when an Attempt shall be made to repeal those Acts, will immediately relapse, and the shaking Fit will seize them once more with redoubled Violence. But are we affured this Infection will creep no farther? Will not such an Attempt shock many hearty Advocates for the Government? Gentlemen who serve their King and Country upon Principles of Conscience and Honour, without any servile Dependence upon Ministers of State, or Expectation of any other Reward than the Satisfaction of having done their Duty And who, I will take the Liberty to fay, are the best and most reputable Friends to the present happy Establishment.

If this Author gives us these bold Strokes as his own private Opinion and secret Wish only, he might have faved himself the Trouble: For I am very well satisfied, that the Gentlemen now at the Helm understand the State of the Nation too well to follow his Advice. But if he has the Insolence to divulge these things, as Schemes already agreed upon by the leading Men in the Government, he deserves little less than the Pillory for so vile a Resection.

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Upon the whole; I am as fully persuaded, as ever I was of any thing, that an Endeavour at this time to repeal the Occasional and Test-Acts, will

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will give a mighty Handle to the disaffected, Breath to the clamorous, plausible Reasons to those who are now reduced to the last Dregs of Nonsense and Absurdity, and will in the end prove both a needless and dangerous Experiment.

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I am,

-uD and will bear Sir

Yours most fincerely, &c.

Feb. 10th, 1716.



THE



The Second

LETTER!

DEAR SIR;



E

OUR Zeal for the true Interest of our gracious King, and for the true Protestant Religion, as profess'd in the Church of England, will readily excuse my giving you the Trouble of a second Letter. I have had the Ho-

nour of your Approbation of the former; if I can be so fortunate in this, I shall very little regard the Censures of those whose Interest it is to condemn it. I shall endeavour to answer the most material Reasons given by the Dissenters and their Advocates for their Admission into Places. What I find in the Bishop of Bangor's Answer to Dr. Snape, and to the Representation of the Committee, ought in Justice to be first consider'd.

" Men ought not to be deprived of their Natural Rights.

A Natural Right of Civil Offices feems to me a very wild Notion. In a mere State of Nature C there

there was no fuch Right, because there were then no fuch Offices. And when Men enter'd into political Societies, the greatest part of their Natural Rights were of course deposited in the Hands of their Civil Governours, the more effectually to enable them to answer the Ends of Society, and protect the Properties, and Persons of their Subjects: Of which Number this Right (if it may, tho' improperly, be called Natural) must be presum'd to be one. For Men once incorporated into Civil Society, to pretend a Natural Right to carve for themselves, and assume what Offices and Employments they think fit, is indeed to subvert that Society, and return again into a State of Nature and Confusion. It must therefore be left to the Civil Governour to appoint subordinate Officers; for without this Right he cannot govern. He is undoubtedly to judge of the Qualifications of the feveral Candidates for an Office: And he cannot in any thing more evidently abuse the great Trust repoled in him, than by conferring Offices on thole Men, whose Principles or Practices have been found destructive to the Community. The Different therefore may thank their past Practices, if they are not, in this Particular, upon an equal Foot with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects. They have justly render'd themselves suspected both to Church and State; and ought to think they are kindly used. if enjoying in common all the other Benefits of Society, they are restrained only from the Power of doing Mischief. It does not become Men in their Circumstances to insult the Lenity of the Government, and to claim a Natural Right inconfiftent with the common Safety, to which all Rights of what kind foever must give place. This claim of a Natural Right to Offices would make a very

wery ridiculous Figure in Westminster-Hall. They would there soon convince a Distenting Patterner, that he had the same Natural Right to a Man's Estate, as to his Office; and that no Person here in England has any other Right to an Office, than by the Favour of the Prince, under the Direction of the Law.

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"It is equally reasonable to incapacitate Dissenters
"from exercising any honest Trade, as to inca"pacitate them from exercising Offices of State.

To which I am almost assumed to give any Antiwer at all: I shall only therefore observe, that William Penn, a Privy Counseller and Minister of State, may possibly appear a more dangerous Endmy to the Church, than the said William Penn, if consin'd to a Bulk in Fleet-Street, or even if structing with more Grandeur behind a Counter in Cheap side. The naked Truth is, Different Tradesmen are, and may be useful, but Different Stratesmen must be dangerous

It is equally reasonable to admit Dissenters into
"Offices of State, as to make use of their As"fistance in a critical Juntture, when the Soci"ety must even be undone without it:

I blush to give an Answer to this likewise: I shall therefore only observe, that Cases of Necessity have been of great Use to his Lordship of Bangar; and us other honest Things, upon very important Occasions; but that it is not very logical in us co infer what may be done in Cases of no Necessity, from what must be done in Cases of Necessity.

Every one of sus would think it unreasonable to be excluded Places, were it his own Case.

Rule; but Self-Love makes it a little difficult in the Practice. For as a merry Bard observes,

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The Point upon his own Concerns.

It must also be observed, that however true this Rule may be in a moral, yet it does not always hold in a political Sense: It is indeed the Foundation of Justice and Charity between Man and Man; but in political Cases there is a third Party concerned, I mean the PUBLICK, to which all private Confiderations must submit. Publick Offices are a publick Trust ; and it may be reasonable for me to exclude some People from Offices, tho I would not be excluded my felf, because the publick Good may necessarily require it. And this is certainly much more justifiable, where the true Caufe of fuch Exclusion arises from the Party himself who is excluded. This I take to be the Case of the Differers, who, if they may feem to be hardly used in this Particular, ought to thank themselves; but can neither with Reason complain of the Unkindness of private Persons, or of the publick Justice. However, for once, I will make the Case my own, and suppose my self a Dissemer: And in these Circumstances cannot think it very absurd to reason thus: I have already a full Liberty to worthip God in my own Way; this was formerly the utmost of our Demands: A Place may gratify my Avarice or Ambition, but neither

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make me a happier Man, or better Christian: The Variablenels of human Affairs, the uncertain Tenure of a Place, the In's and Out's I have observed of late, give me no very advantageous Idea of a Place-Monger: It is a frail Felicity, and not worth my feeking: As the Primitive Christians are the best Patterns a good Man can follow, fo I am verily perfuaded, had they been happy in fuch an ample Indulgence as we now enjoy, they would not have fer their Heares so much upon this World, as to give Jealousies to those about them; by attempting to wrest our of their Hands the Places and Preferments of the State: Could they have escaped the Bar, they would never have afpir de to take Bench a but would have been content to have left the Reins of Government in the Hands event of their Heathen Magistrates: While the Church of England is uppers most I am secure of its Indulgence; but should any one Sect of the Diffenters, by being admitted into Places, in time gain an Establishment, if Inshould not happen to be of that Sect, and if I may judge of the present by the past, I have great reason to apprehend the utmoff Severity dof Perfecution : Many thousands of his Majery's good Subjects, both Churchmen and Diffenters, neither have, nor defire Places; why should I distinguish my self from the common Herd, and by my Pride and Sufficiency make my felf ridiculous? It is true I am excluded from some beneficial Places; but by this escape many others both troublesome and expensive: I am content therefore with my own Lot; I submit to the Judgment of my Superiors, and will readily facrifice myolown little private nterest to the publick Peace and Safety. I can-Service surveyor ton celificaringehead.

not conceive such Sentiments as these would at all mis-become an honest and conscientious Dissenter.

The Test-Act ought to be repealed; because by it the boliest Institution of our Religion, the most sacred thing in the World, is debased into a political Tool, and Engine of State.

leave it to the Divines to determine whether shis Act deferves this fevere Charge; as I leave it to the World to judge whether this Earnestness of the Disteners to repealint, be out of Zeal for the Honour of that holy Institution, or whether the true Motive be not their own dear Self-Interest? The repealing that part of the Act will give me no great Uneafines, provided an effectual Method be found our to answer clearly the same End, and exclude the Differers from Offices and Power I must own, I was in some hope of a substantial Er quivalent for the Test-All, fince his Lordship affures us in his Answer to Dr. Snape; p. 47. That other Tefte might be thought on agreeable to Christianity and Humanity, which might be a truer Security to the Es flablished Church than the present is. But when I read his Lordship's Answer to the Committee of Converge tion, p. 193. where he informs us that every Security which debars Men from their Civil Rights, is an unjust and false Security; I plainly discover'd what fort of Equivalent we were to expect. For these Givil Rights are the same, which his Lordship in another Place calls Natural Rights, viz. The Rights of the Diffenters to Civil Offices, the excluded by the Civil Power. This Notion of a Civil Right to an Office, directly in Opposition to the Civil Authority, seems to me another Paradox, which I must own I cannot easily comprehend. And what Security that can

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the to the Church, which admits Differers into Place and Power, and puts them into a Capacity to destroy it, is to me equally unintelligible. I despair therefore of any fair Equivalent for the Test-Att: And I hope the Wisdom of our Legislators will permit it to continue as it now stands; and not suffer themselves and the Nation they represent, to be deceived with any treacherous, described Equivalents.

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I am the more encouraged to hope this, because this very Parliament, in the Act for the farther Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, Anno 1. Georgij, p. 328. in Affirmance of the Testalli continue to oblige all Persons in Office to receive the Sacrament according to the Usage of the Church of England. As I cannot therefore suppose they will so soon destroy the Work of their own Hands, so I may have leave to presume they will not think themselves treated with any great Decency, when they are thus charged with making the holiest Institution of our Religion, the most sacred thing in the World, a political Tool, and Engine of State.

Thus far the Right Reverend Bishop: Of whose Writings you know, Sir, I have been a sedulous Reader. And in many Passages of those very Writings I have learn'd to pay no manner of Regard to the Authority of great spanner. I hope therefore his Lordship will excuse me, if I cannot submit to such weak and strivolous Reasons in a Case not very becoming his facred Character.

I shall now, Sir, trouble you with some short Remarks upon a late Pamphlet, which is esteem'd fo considerable by the Dissenters, that it has appeared already in a second Edition. The Title of it is, " An equal Capacity in the Subjects of Great"Britain for Civil Employments, the best Security of the "Government.

To prove this equal Capacity to be the best Security to the Government, he gives us these four Reasons.

- " I. It adds to the Power of the Crown.
- " 2. It secures the Established Church.
- "3. It would reconcile and bring in many of the Dif-
- 4. The AEIs made to the contrary, have never been the Produce of Mature Deliberation, but of Party Zeal.
- " First, It adds to the Power of the Crown.

To support this Proposition he reasons thus a That it would add to the Power of the Crown, and strengthen the Constitution, it is humbly presumed your Lordships (for you must know, Sir, this Pamphlet was writ for the Edification of certain Prelates) will allow; because such Power and such Strength is always in proportion to the Number who support it. All such Acts therefore which div st a part of the Community of their Share in such Support by Disquatifications are equally prejudicial to the withdrawing so many from the Community, or diminishing the whole by so many as are under these Disqualifications.

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Upon which I shall venture to make the following Observations. First, That adding to the Power of the Crown, and strengthening the Constitution. re quite different Things; because adding to the Power of the Crown may, and often does, weaken he Constitution. As our Constitution is a mix'd r limited Monarchy, adding to the Power of he Crown may alter the Balance, and tend diectly to subvert it. Secondly, That the' the Power nd Strength of the Crown may be supposed in roportion to the Number of those who support , yet it does not from thence necessarily follow. hat those Numbers should all be capable of Ofces; because a Subject who is incapable of Ofces, may yet have his Share in the Support of he Crown. Thirdly, That Acts which difquaify Men for Offices, are not equally prejudicial o the withdrawing fo many from the Communiy, because there is a wide Difference between excluding Men from Offices, and excluding them from being Members of the Community. He who is no Officer is as much a Member of the Community as he who is; neither does it diminish the whole, because some part are not Officers: 1.

He next proceeds to inform us, "That there are great Complaints from the Lieutenancy of the Tower-Hamlets, and divers other Places, that they cannot officer their Companies by reason of Parliamentary Disqualifications." In fine, he would have us understand that the present Officers of the Militia are as defective in their Loyalty as in their military Skill; and that the Dissenters, out of their publick Zeal for their Country, and for the Honour of those useful Bands of domestick Janizaries, will traciously supply those Defects, and furnish us with Casars

Cafars and Alexanders from the Deeting Bouft. But it seems their Affistance is no less wanted in a Civil, than in a Military Capacity. The Common-Council of the City of London invoke their Aid. " Many Wards cannot find the Number it w " their Privilege to be represented by, that are qualified " for such a Trust, by their natural and acquired En-" dowments." For my part, I shall not pretend to state the natural and acquired Endowments of a Common-Council-Man, but I may venture to fay, that we our felves should be void of all Endow ments, both natural and acquired, if we should permit these worthy Loyalists to carry once more the Regalia of the City to a Conventicle. But this Author goes on, and affures us, " That great "Grievances arise in the Commission of the Peace by ereason of the Disqualifications. Many Places in the " Country have not Persons fit and skilful to all in such " an Office." In short, that the Bench will not be decently filled without admitting the Differers; and that the Toleration is not perfect, till they are allowed to wrest the Law, as they do the Gospel But to be a little more serious with this Pamphle teer. I defire he would confider that this Suppofition, upon which all these Reasonings are founded, is by no means true. That the Government is not reduced to such Necessity for faithful Officer either Civil or Military: That such an Insinuation is a vile Calumny, and is, in effect, nothing left than calling three Parts in four of the Gentlemen of England perjur'd Villains: That he does no great Honour to the Government, by reducing its Friends into fo narrow a Compass: That if it were thus deserted (which is apparently false in Fact) yet applying to the Differers, and putting Weapons into their Hands, would not be the proper Method of curing

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cuting this Evil: That it is the Interest of any Gcpernment to reign in the Affections of the People: That nothing can be so disagreeable to the Bulk of the Nation, as to see the Diffenters at the Head of Affairs: That ever fince the Church and Moarchy, which they destroy'd, have been happily estored, every successive Reign has carried on the ublick Affairs without their Help: That it will e very difficult to persuade the Members of the Church, that their Affistance is more necessary in his Reign than any other; or that they will now n good Earnest support what they so lately overurn'd: That giving the Established Church any Eause for new Jealousies, will necessarily create Fations, and Animofities, and may be attended with the worst Consequences: And lastly, That nothing can be properly faid to strengthen any Government, which, to oblige a few, will give a lasting Uneafiness to the Body of the People.

" Secondly, It adds to the Security of the Church.

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This is at first Sight so gross a Paradox, that I frould not have troubled you with it here, had not the Author before-mentioned brav'd the World with it, and with a peculiar Confidence affirm'd, that his Reasonings upon this Head amount, in a true and proper Sense, to a Demonstration. After having with great Accuracy (as he imagines) explained to those searned Prelates the true Meaning of the Word Church, he farther proceeds to instruct their Lordships in a Doctrine which must cerrainly appear very new and furprizing. Be pleafedro take it in his own Words. " This Under-"taking then, is only to offer it with all Humility to your Lordhips, that the Church will be render'd much more D 2

Secure by every thing that is an Addition to the Power, of the Crown; because upon such an Establishment, it is so interwoven and made a part of the Crvil Constitution, that one cannot subsist but by the other. And that therefore the Security or Danger of the Church will always he, as is the Security or Danger of the States because they are inseparable. And he afterwards adds, "In a true, therefore, and proper Sense it will amount even to Demonstration, that every Addition to the Power of the Crown, must be an Addition to the Security of the Church?" Upon all which I shall observe,

First, That notwithstanding his Nicety about the Term CHUROH, he is pleased to use the Words Crown and Civil Constitution in the same Sense; tho', without the Help of Second-fight, it is eafy to discover the Difference. Secondly, That not having proved under his first Head, that a Cars pacity in the Dissenters for Civil Employments does add to the Power of the Crown, this Foundation failing, his Super-structure must of Course fall to the Ground. Thirdly, I must deny that the Church is so interwoven with the Civil Constitution, that one cannot Sublift but by the other: For before the Church was incorporated with the State, or Civil Constitution, it did formany Ages substift; and if deferted and thrown off by the State, it may again subsist; as it actually did in Queen Mary's Reign, and in Cromwell's Ufurpation, the perfecuted by the State, I must add also, that there is in fuch Cases Authority enough left in the Church to prescribe such Rules and Orders as are necessary to its Being. Fourthly, If the Church be (as) he expresses it) so interwoven with the Civili Constitution, it is by consequence the Duty of the Civil

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Civil Constitution to protect and defend it From whence I shall beg leave to infen, that the Civil Constitution should by no means admit of a Repeal of those Laws which are the Fences and Barriers of the Church against its worlt Enemies. Fifthly That this Maxim with which he is for much delighted, is fo far from being true, that an Addition to the Crown may often diminish the Security, of the Church Was not the Doctrine of Ralling Obedience an Addition to the Power of the Crown? But did not this very Doctrine in the Reign before the Revolution endanger both Church and State; Repealing the feveral Limitations in the Ad no Settlement, or even making the Prince abiolyte, must certainly add to the Power of the Craws but will it in any Sense add to the Security of the Church? He must therefore permit me to believe that any Excels of Power in the Grown will be a qualty dangerous to Church and State Wothing can be more entertaining than to fee a Differter to zealous for the Prerogative, and Menthar are upon Record for Antimonarchical and Republican Princip ples, value themselves upon the highest Elights of Tory-Loyalty. In the selected drive bedeno day are our

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I cannot here omit taking some Motice of whate he calls a memorable and even to be lamented Instance, of the Union of the Church with the State, in the unhappy Reign of King Charles I. One would imagine the Different should not be very fond of mentioning that Reign upon this Occasion. "But (says he) as the Crown book, the Church trembled, till at last they both fell into the same Grave." Had he been so kind to have informed up who were the Grave-Diggers, it had saved me some Trouble, and had been an effectual Answer to his whole Book.

But he goes on, " And for that definable End, ive. de the Security of the Church, the Nation has not only The Sourisy and Assurances imaginable from the There of the Things, and the very Genius and Tex-Whit of the Constitution, but from the repeated most "Practions Promises from the Torone." I know not indeed what the Genius of our Constitution may do but the Nature of Things at prefent does not afford usual very pleasing Prospect of Security to the Church. We pay (as it is our Dury) all politic Deference to His Majelty's most gracious Promifes, but must the Church for this reafon depart from its legal Securities? His Majesty has also graciously promised He will defend our Liberties: Weare perfectly fatisfied he will. But mult we therefore repeal Magna Charta? Since we are upon this Head of the Security of the Church, it may not be improper to hear the whole Body of the Diffenter chemicives in their humble Supplie earion to Her late Majesty in relation to the Bill to prevents Schiffing Princed for An Belly 1714. 200128; 29 Whole hand Concessions may well by give some Inghie hito this girt's Evenothese Reoptes (lay they) who " we are repreached with serving, and for adhering to whom in Civil Affairs, we have been misrepresented to Tour Majefts, base on all verifions affifted our IE-"nemies to take from us all Power of making our felves 4) confiderable in Chail Affairs, by emirely defabling us. " vo appear in publish Matters, removing us from all the Advantages of Magifracy in Towns, or Offices in the co Cours, Quantabyous might be capable by our Numbers. to give any Weight on one fide, or on the other. In et doing which, however, they have (the perhaps against "their Will) done is this Favour, that being for entire " hunder their Foot, with respect to Power, the Charge " of being danger on rither to Church or State can hever ec more

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" more be brought against us." From which Paffage it is very natural to infer : First, If serving those People, (i.e. the Whigs,) is here called by the whole Body of the Diffenters a Mifrepresentation and Reproach, they would do well to confider, how fincere a part they have afted by their wahig-Friends. Secondly, If the faid Whigs affifted their Enemies in taking from them all Power of making themselves considerable in Civil Affairs, by entirely disabling, Oc. those very whigs, I hope, will remember, fince the Case is not in the least alter'd, and fince the same good Reasons remain in full Force, to act confilently with themselves. Thirdly, If being under Foot, with respect to Power, is a good Reason why the Charge of being dangerous, either to Church or State cannot be brought, against them is do not the whole Body of the Dissers seem to sllow, that if they were not under Foot, with respect to Power, the Charge of being dangerous to Church or State might be brought against them? As the Thing therefore have done them the Favour to acquit them from this odious Charge, I hope they will always continue in the same good Disposition to their Dlb friends. For as the Toleration is a Right no good natur'd Christian will ever deny ; so such unreasonable Demands of Place, Power, and Authority from Perfons so justly suspected, is a Favour no good Churchman will ever grant

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"Thirdly, It would reconcile and bring in many of the Dissenters.

As this Author has now dropp'd all Pretence to Argument, and is content to swell the remaining Pages of his Book with hypocritical Complements,

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plements, wit-lefs Raillery, and mif-applied History, I shall trouble you, Sir, with some few short Remarks only upon the choicest Flowers in this his wonderful Performance. Lenity and Humanity (fays he) " are certainly the best Methods of making Profelytes. And again, the Established Church never got Ground by any Oppressions or Unkindnesses what-" foever over those not in her Communion." This may be all very true; but with what Face can it be applied to the Point in Hand? How can that Church be charg'd with want of Lenity and Humanity, who to freely tolerates her weak Brethren, and referves only that Power to her felf, which the knows the Diffenters would turn against her? Is Indulgence Unkindness? Is Self-Defence Persecution? If they are now treated hardly, when will they allow they are kindly used? Where will their Demands end? What Limits will they fix to their reftless Importunity? A Connivance was once all they ask'd. In a Toleration they were as happy as they could wish. Now they grasp at Place and Power, and to deny them this new Demand of Civil Preferments, is the utmost Stretch of Severity. But will they ask no more? Will they fit down content when they have gained this Point? Will they not cast a longing Eye after some other Emoluments, which have formerly yielded a very plentiful Harvest to their Fore-Fathers? Thus, Sir, like sturdy Beggars, they grow infolent, if we deny; and if we grant, each new Concession is an Encouragement to ask more. They gain Ground upon the Good-nature and Eafiness of their Church Friends, and have now the Modesty to perfuade us to difarm our felves, and trust our valuable Bleffings in their Hands. This Author, with his Demonstrations, can easily convince us

that they will renounce what they covet, that they will support what they hate.

In the next Page he makes a very awkard Excufe for his Friends in the Bebellion of Foity Die " The Mischiefs (says he) which enfued, how grievous " foever, are rather to be deem'd the Effects of Refent-" ment than Principle." Not of Principle? Read. Sir, their Sermons, and their feveral publick Acts in those Times, where they justify their Proceedings before God and Man. But is their Refentment fo terrible? Could nothing fatisfy it in those Days till it ended in a Tragedy, which no History can parallel? And that the Church neglect to guard her self now against their future Vengeance? Believe me, Sir, when they are once invested with Place and Power, they will never want Matter for Refentment; but to give a Loofe to it in such horrid Instances, is by no means a Proof of very Christian Principles. When we shall sensibly feel such Effects of their Vengeance, it will be a poor Confolation to the Sufferers, that their Principles are less wicked than their Actions.

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In the following Page he has the Confidence to boast of the Firmness of the Dissenters in the Reign of the late King James, "to the true Interest of their Country, and that they generously fell in with all proper Measures for preserving the Church. And he hopes we will remember it with the utmost Gratitude." We to indeed remember it; but one would imagine his Anthor thought our Memories very short, or that we could not read: But we know very well who were carefs d in that Reign, who were the Tools of Popery, and who were the Favourites of that Court, when the Church was forlaken by these her

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her pretended Friends, insulted and triumphed over by her Enemies, and lay disconsolate and forlorn under the Frowns of her Sovereign. Be pleased, Sir, to hear an Historian, who was never thought a Friend to Persecution. They, i.e. the Dissenters, were not content with a silent Acceptance of this Liberty, but were drawn in to make Insults of I Joy for it, and presented Addresses of Thanks, so state thought offensive to the very Ears of the Were thought offensive to the very Ears of the King himself. Compleat Hist. of Eng. p. 465.

Fourthly, The Acts for Disqualifications have never been the Produce of mature Deliberation, but of Party-Zeal.

Under this Head, Sir, you might very justly expect to find some Observations upon the Time when those Acts were made; upon the Persons who promoted their passing; upon the true Design and Intent of the Law-givers, and the Extent and Consequences of the Laws themselves. But not one word of all this. Our Author is pleased to fly from his Text, and puts us off only with his usual Railing, and some sew general Resections. As therefore there is nothing proved, you will not require I should give any Answer.

I cannot forbear mentioning one happy Discovery he has made, that the furest Expedient to prevent the fatal Consequences of a Standing Army, is admitting the Dissenters into Civil Employments, which will be entirely useless, if his Majesty shall commit the Defence of his Kingdoms to their Zeal and Capacity. For they (it seems) are the ortically loyal, the only able Men: Its they alone are furnished.

" are the better half of the Kingdom: The greatest part of his Majesty's Subjects." Were they unbound, releas'd from these legal Ferters, not only the Church, but his Majesty's Throne, should be founded on a Rock.

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It is very merry in the Diffenters and their Friends, to inform us of their great Numbers, their Influence, and their Abilities, and to plead these as Reasons why we should trust them in Offices, which are certainly very good ones why we should not. Their Name, it seems, is Legion; they are a great and numerous Body; and they make only this one modest Request, that the Members of the Church would arm them with Power. It is worth our while to observe how dextrously they can shift the Scene, and appear considerable, or very inconsiderable, as it serves their present Turn. This Author, who has charitably given his Advice to several Right Reverend Prelates, how they should behave themselves when this Affair comes before their House, is pleased to call the Dissenters, " a great Part of his Majesty's Subjects, half the Sub-Expressions to recommend his Friends, and place them in the best Light. But when they appeared as humble Supplicants to her late Majesty in the Affair of the Schifm Bill, in what different Figure do they represent themselves? " We are (say they) not separated from, but promiscuously scattered among all your Majesty's Subjects, and in all Parts of your " Dominions we have no publick Heads, publick Stock, " or publick Strength, nor do we ever feek any, but are " entirely naked and defenceless, disconcerted, divided from one another, and too much uneasy with one another.

The Scandal of so much as thinking our selves powerful, much less of being so in reality, will not lie against us, even our Enemies themselves being Judges. Vid. Humb. Supplicat. before cited, &c.

Tis now, Sir, high time to relieve you from this Author: Your Good-nature (I know) will pardon me, for the Persecution you have suffered. Had not this Piece been thought of some Moment, not only by the Dissenters themselves, but by others, who, I am sure, ought to know better, I had not troubled you or my self with a Book, which carries in the very Title-page so many palpable Absurdities. I must only now beg your Patience, while I consider two or three Arguments on that side, which I have met with in their Pamphlets, or in common Conversation.

"They who are equally serviceable to any Govern"ment, should be equally intitled to the Favours
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This cannot be true of those, who by their Professions or Practices have forseited their Rights to those Favours. It is with a very ill Grace they can make any new Demands of Power, who, in the Memory of many now living, over-turned both Church and State. To ask it, is something more than a modest Request; to grant it, an unpardonable Folly.

"The Test-Act, by obliging Men to receive the Sa"crament as a Qualification for an Office, na"turally tends to make Men Hypocrites,

It must here be observed, that neither the Makers of that Act, nor the Act it self, nor the Person

fon who administers the Sacrament to an hypoeritical Receiver, are the efficient Cause of his Hypocrify; but that must be look'd for in another Place, viz. in the vicious Disposition of the Receiver. It were easie to shew that other Acts of Religion may give an accidental Occasion of finning to a Person of evil Inclinations, But to stick more closely to this Point of Hypocrify, let us suppose it a Rule (as it is in some Parishes) that none of the Poor shall receive the Benefit of the Sacramental Charity, but those who actually receive the Sacrament at that time, (I wish this may escape the Censure of adding temporal Sanctions to Christie Laws.) Let us then suppose, that some of the poor People have no other View in receiving the Sacrament, but to get the Money. Shall we fay that the Minister who prescribes this pious Rule in his Church, is the efficient Cause of the Hypocrify of those Persons? Will any of their Guilt stick upon him? Does not this Rule more naturally tend to create true Piety than Hypocrify? And if it should accidentally, in some Instances, be the unhappy Occasion of the last, must the Use of this good Rule be laid afide, because some wicked Persons to whom it was applied abused it? May not this pious Incentive to fo holy a Duty, be a Means to create a better Disposition in those Minds which before were little affected with Religion? May not the Horror of that Guilt which must necessarily arise in the Mind of an hypocritical Receiver, bring him in time to a more ferious Temper? May not that folemn Occasion revive in him a Sense of his Duty, and make him who before was an Hypocrite, for the time to come fincerely religious? But be that as it will, nothing can be more evident than that the Guilt of his Sin is to be imputed to himself alone.

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" When the Disaffection of so many in the Church is " so very apparent, it is unreasonable to deprive the Government of the Assistance of the Dissen-

" ters, its best Friends."

I beg Leave a pari to reason thus. The Disasfection of many of our own Countrymen is very apparent: It is equally plain, that many Foreigners among us are very good Friends to the prefent Establishment, and the Government may some time or other want their Affiftance; must we therefore repeal the Clause in the Act of Settlement that excludes them from Offices? I hope we are not yet ripe for this, though the Inference is equally good in both Cases. We ought certainly to have at least the same Care for our Religious, as for our Civil Rights. Our Zeal for the Government will by no means excuse our making a Sacrifice of the Church, nor will our excels of Loyalty atone for our want of Religion. The Government is not wholly deprived of the Affishance of the Diffenters, because they are excluded from Offices; they have still Liberty to support it with their Purses, and arm in its Defence when it shall be in Danger: The Question is about the COMMAND only. We are indeed jealous of their Power, but shall gratefully receive their Assistance; and shall never be angry with any laudable Zea, they shew for the present happy Establishment: Yet we cannot believe that there is so great a Dearth of loyal Churchmen, but that there may be enough found to fill all vacant Places. I may possibly allow that some Churchmen are disaffected to the Government; but I must deny with all my Might that the Diffenters are its best Friends. I have not yet forgot the feafonable Loyalty of fo many of my Lords'

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Lords the Bishops, and that well-tim'd Declaration, which fo effectually reconciled the Affections of the common People. Neither will it be very improper to remember here, that the Deputy-Lienter nants, Juffices, and all other Officers who served his Majesty faithfully in their several Stations, at their own Expence in that critical Joncture, were every one of them Members of the Establish'd Church. They expose the Weakness of the Government who suppose it cannot subsist without the Dif-Senters being in Offices. A Rebellion prosperously defeated, has never yet fail'd of strengthening the Interest of the Conqueror; of gaining Converts to his Party, and lestening the Number of his Enemies. We must not therefore presume that his Majesty's Friends are decreased since the Rebellion : And I will take the Liberty to fay, that popular Schemes must daily augment them. So that we have no reason to doubt but such Multitudes of loyal Churchmen will be ready to support the Government under any Exigency, as will render them ufelefs whom we know to be dangerous. The Dissenters (I hope) will pardon me this Expression, since I borrowed it from their Fore-fathers; and cannot, think it an improper Caution here to that Noble House, who were no longer admitted to be Peers, when these State-Aspirers were dignissed with Offices, and enrich'd with Preferments.

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To conclude. If admitting the Differers into Military Employments will be a Nursery to breed up Iretons and Crommetis: If the only Improvement that can be made to the Mileries of a Standing Army, is to have that Army composed of Diffenting Officers: If a Diffenting Justice will be as odious to the common People, and as troublesome

co all about him as a Committee-Man ! If theh being admitted into the Magistracy, will add a Weight to their Errors, and if the true Secret of this Accempt (let them pretend what they will) is to model Corporations, to augment their Numbers, to ftrengthen their Interest, and by these means to gain a Majority of their own Creatures in the House of Commons, which may hereafter, as effectually as heretofore, submit both the Church and Crown to their Mercy; I will leave it to you, or any impartial Man to judge, whether we ought not to be very well advised, and very feenre of their good Faith and Sincerity, before we admit fo great an Alteration in our Constitution, and throw up those Fences which the Wisdom of our Fathers thought fo necessary, both against our Popish, and Differting Advertaries, fince we and our Postericy may repent too late of any inconfiderate Easiness in an Affair of this Moment. And now (Sir) I hope you will believe me, when I affure you, that I neither wrote this, or my former Letter, out of any personal Prejudice to the Differers, whose just and reasonable Claims I shall never oppose; but out of that fineere Regard which every good Briton ought to express to the true and lasting Interest of his King, to the Peace and Quiet of his Country. and to the Security of that Religion, whole Doctrines the Diffenters themselves approve, and whose Discipline comes the nearest of any to the Primitive Times. Military East, or occurred of

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